

17 January 1961

## MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Cuban Aggression and Subversive Activities in Latin America

1. Introduction

Since the submission of the seventh report on Cuban Aggression and Subversive Activities in Latin America, dated 9 December 1960, the Moscow-Peiping-Havana axis has stressed the development of a greater degree of coordination among the pro-Cuban entities in the different Latin American countries. This may well have resulted from a recognition of the defensive position of the CASTRO regime at the Meeting of Foreign Ministers in San Jose, pointing up the need for a unified propaganda effort on the part of indigenous groups "defending the Cuban revolution", and, in addition, the dangers inherent in pursuing a revolutionary timetable in a given country independently of overall planning for the Castroization and communization of Latin America as a whole.

The World Peace Council took the initiative by instructing its affiliates to carry out activities in connection with the Foreign Ministers' meeting, and affirming that the defense of Cuba and its revolutionary government is the most important task today for the democratic forces of the continent. The theme was further established by requests from the headquarters of the 26th of July Revolutionary Movement in Havana to Cuban Ambassadors in different Latin American countries seeking information on existing committees or movements of solidarity with the 26th of July revolution. A commission of the 26th of July Movement was to visit Latin American countries to coordinate personally activities to be carried out in the future. It was planned to hold a large meeting or congress of existing committees in Latin America and the rest of the world in some Latin country to demonstrate the accomplishments of the revolution.

A delegation of Chinese Communist journalists travelling in Latin America reflected ChiCom theoretical emphasis on aggressive revolutionary intervention in informing Latin American Communists that it would be possible to create an arsenal sufficient to arm all the Latin American peoples and that they should remember what Fidel CASTRO said in inviting all Latin American countries to rise up in arms against the governments.

Communist parties and pro-Cuban groups were called upon to repudiate the Declaration of San Jose and support the Havana Declaration. In one country the Communist Party is known to have received a request from Gerardo FIGUERAS, Cuban Secretary of Foreign Relations, to develop a national campaign along this line.

In October, the Ecuadorean Communist Party (PCE) decided that the policy of doing everything possible to obtain international support for the CASTRO regime should be continued. In the event of an attack on CASTRO, the PCE would go all out to create fighting fronts throughout America against "Yankee imperialism", aimed at producing a general insurrection among the people of Latin America.

New China News Agency (NCNA) reported a speech of Filiberto BARRERO, a member of the national executive committee of the Colombian Communist Party (PCC) at a mass meeting marking the 43rd anniversary of the October Revolution. BARRERO said that Cuba is the vanguard in the struggle of Latin American peoples against imperialism, adding that the people of different countries would not give up the sacred duty of defending the Cuban revolution.

In Tegucigalpa, Honduran Communists and other local and foreign pro-Castroites enthusiastically celebrated "Defense of Cuba Week", 21 - 27 November 1960. A number of leading Honduran Communists published a manifesto threatening to demonstrate locally in defense of Cuba with "forceful acts" if signers were not permitted to assist their Cuban comrades in their defense against aggression. The week commenced with a picnic attended by some 175 persons, including Juan MAS and other employees of the Cuban Embassy, and the guest speaker, Roberto BLANCO Moseno, Mexican writer, who told the crowd that the Cuban Revolution must be extended to all of Latin America. According to Prensa Latina more than 200 persons signed the Havana Declaration at the final ceremony of the week. Cesar GARIZURITA, Mexican Ambassador to Honduras, was called to order by Honduran President VILLEDA Morales because of his pro-CASTRO statements. GARIZURITA claimed to have sponsored the solidarity week, and said that he was able to inspire to action a greater number of people than any Honduran politician, even VILLEDA.

Cuban establishment of front organizations and coordination of their activities has continued. In November the Brazilian Communist Party was organizing a Club de Amigos de Cuba (CAC) to serve as the principal organizer and coordinator of all movements in support of the Cuban revolution in the state of Sao Paulo. In another country, the Cuban Embassy has financed a Society of Friends of Cuba to the extent of more than \$1000 US.

## 2. Nature of Cuban Subversive Program for Latin America

The general Havana-Moscow plan for the conquest of Latin America consists of a three-pronged attack on all Latin American nations. This program comprises sabotage of U.S. interests, general strikes and acts of insurrection in the event Cuba is attacked. The Cuban Government defines attack as a) direct U.S. military action against Cuba, b) attack on Cuba by anti-CASTRO Cubans from abroad, c) the increase in the tempo of internal guerrilla action in Cuba, or d) increasing economic restrictions by the U.S. This means CASTRO can activate the three-pronged program at any time it suits his purposes, allaying he has been attacked. Pro-Cuban fronts, especially Cuba defense battalions, are to take the lead in the event of attack.

### 3. Labor Agitation

In the so-called "defensive" preparations for an attack as defined above, or in actual revolutionary situations, Latin American labor is intended to play a key role, especially in the first two elements of the program, sabotage and general strikes.

Labor agitation, always a potent weapon in the arsenal of international Communism, has been adopted as an integral part of the CASTRO revolutionary program in Latin America. Tactical considerations are the organizational capabilities of a labor movement and political and economic situations which can be exploited in a given country, as well as the possibilities for simultaneous coordination of labor action among different countries, in order to create a general atmosphere of mass discontent.

During this period, the Cuban Government was planning an area wide general strike in the event Cuba is attacked. This appeared to be an extension of previous plans to sabotage American interests in the event of such an attack. The Cuban aim is probably to arouse sympathy for CASTRO and at the same time, promote activities to disintegrate the social and economic structure in each country.

Clotario Blest Rizzo, fanatically pro-Cuban president of the Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile (CUTCH), has frequently called the attention of members organizations of the CUTCH to an agreement with the Cuban Government and the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC), according to which the Chilean workers would mobilize and go to the defense of the revolution in the event that Cuba should be attacked by the United States or even by plain "counter-revolutionists." That the pattern to be followed by labor in defense of the revolution is an offensive and not a defensive one, was illustrated by a demonstration of Marxist parties against the Chilean Government on 3 November. Typical posters and slogans were: "Chile and Cuba are following the same path"; "Away with Yankee imperialism in Chile and America"; "Long live Fidel CASTRO and the Cuban revolution"; "Now a national strike, next a revolution."

In November Jose TABARES del Real, then Cuban Ambassador to Bolivia, received instructions to form plans for a general strike in the event of a U.S. attack on Cuba. He was to appoint a special coordinating committee to talk to individual members of different labor unions, urging them to give their support to a general strike. Similar plans were issued for the rest of Latin America, especially Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Peru, and Ecuador.

In pursuance of this plan, Pacifico BOCHA Pineda, secretary-general of the Bolivian construction workers' union, said that if the United States attacked Cuba, workers of his union would destroy all U.S. enterprise in Bolivia.

Communist labor leaders in Latin America have long decried the lag in the development of union organization of farm workers and their non-integration with their industrial, urban brothers. It may be expected that the Conference of Agricultural Workers and Peasants scheduled to be held in

Havana 1 - 5 March 1961, will attempt to take steps to correct this situation, as well as to coordinate proselytization of agrarian workers as an important mass element in "defense of the Cuban revolution." Preparations for this Conference are already under way. El Pueblo, the Communist Party newspaper in Quito, published on 16 September a summons to the Conference, signed by representatives of the Peasants' Federation of Brazil, the Federacion Azucarera de Venezuela, the Peasants' Federation of Venezuela, the Cuban Workers' Federation, and the Cuban National Federation of Sugar Workers. The statement calls upon "all the agricultural and peasant organizations of Latin America, in the course of these months, to proceed in carrying out work conducive to strengthening of all the organizations of the Antilles, Central and South America."

In Montevideo, Uruguayan police confirmed the presence in that city of numerous leaders on international communism who came to participate in two construction workers' congresses. Among the labor union leaders questioned by investigations police were two Cubans--Rodolfo FERNANDEZ Rodriguez and Atecherennon LUGONES.

Isaac ZUMBADO and Joaquin MORA Elyondo, Costa Rican labor leaders, were sent to Cuba about September 1960 to observe agrarian reform there. Jesus ARCE Castro, a leader of the Federacion de Trabajadores del Banana (PETRABA, non-Communist group that merged with the Communist-dominated group early in 1960 to form the FUTRA) who declares himself a Communist, recently went to Cuba to attend a course. In July 1960, ARCE was arrested near Golfito, Costa Rica, for carrying Communist propaganda and a large quantity of marijuana.

#### 4. Youth and Students

The attention given by the Cuban Government to the organization of Latin American youth and students into brigades and other groups for the defense of the Cuban revolution, and their military and ideological training in Cuba and at home, is indicative of the importance attached to youth leadership in the insurrectional phase of the three-pronged CASTRO program.

The accent on youth probably stems from the Cuban experience itself, as well as the realization that youth in general are easier to incite to violent action than their more cautious elders. For example, Cuban Ambassador RODRIGUEZ, in Ecuador, is surrounded by young pro-Cuban hot-heads who desire immediate revolution in Ecuador.

Pro-Cuban youth in other Latin American countries clearly look upon the Cuban revolution as a model to be followed at home. At a meeting called by revolutionary groups at the University of Habana on 29 October to show solidarity with the Venezuelan students and people, Rolando CUBELA, President of the Federacion Estudiantil Universitario (FEU, Cuban Student Federation), expressed confidence that the Venezuelan revolution would triumph with the example and assistance of the Cuban revolution, which he said was "sweeping irresistibly through America." The recently established Bolivian Fidel CASTRO

Youth Committee in November 1960 issued an appeal to Bolivian youth to defend the Cuban revolution, declaring that to defend Cuba today is to defend Bolivia's future, and joining this committee is the way to defend that future in an organized, militant manner.

The Casa de las Americas, a Cuban-government-sponsored cultural organization in Havana, with functions which appear to be similar in nature to those of the Soviet VOKS, announced in August 1960 that one scholarship would be offered annually to a student of each Latin American country, to study in Cuba for nine months. The students awarded the scholarships would receive \$100 a month and round-trip transportation. They would also receive lodging, food, and medical care at the Inter-American home of the Casa de las Americas during their stay in Cuba. On 19 October, the Cultural Advisor of Casa de las Americas appealed to Panamanian leaders of the Union de Estudiantes Universitarios, the Federacion de Estudiantes de Panama and the Union de Estudiantes Secundarios for support for Casa de las Americas plans to establish a continental movement of liberation.

There have been numerous reports received during this period of training and indoctrination of pro-Cuban youth, both in their own countries and in Cuba.

Members of the Juventud Comunista Peruana (JCP) returning from the Latin American Youth Congress in Havana, started a series of lectures on 15 October in the Instituto Jose Carlos Mariategui (IJCM), the Communist Party cultural front and headquarters. The lectures, which deal with the progress of the Cuban revolution, are presented twice weekly. JCP members were engaged in a program to print mimeographed bulletins on the Cuban revolution. The first one was to be a reprint of the Havana Declaration.

One Communist Party, as a part of its program in support of the Cuban revolution, is organizing volunteer youth groups to be called "Pioneers" who are to start basic military training.

In another country, a high CP official said that young people from several South American countries had joined the International Youth Brigades in Cuba. The Federation of Communist Youth (FJC) in Cordoba, Argentina, published a statement in La Voz del Interior on 29 July 1960 that it intended in every way possible to contribute to the triumph of the Cuban people, including sending volunteers.

Guillermo RIOS Dugan, a Panamanian journalist residing in Havana, recently began work in the Prensa Latina offices in Havana and stated he would soon begin military training.

It was tentatively planned to hold the Fourth Latin American Students Congress (LASC) in Havana. If held in Cuba it may be anticipated that this Congress will afford the Cuban Government an opportunity for propagandizing the exportation of the Cuban revolution, and for the recruitment of likely cadres to be trained to take the lead in subversive pro-revolutionary Cuban groups in their own countries.

## 5. Violence and Revolution

The CASTRO Government continues to support existing revolutionary movements elsewhere in Latin America, and to instigate mob violence in areas where a pre-revolutionary climate is felt to exist.

In the aftermath of civil disturbances in Venezuela, comments of Carlos Rafael RODRIGUEZ, director of the Cuban Communist newspaper Hoy, are significant. RODRIGUEZ alleged that in Venezuela, as in other countries of America, there is opposition to the concept of a revolution of "bandaids and mercurochrome". He implied that there is preference for a revolution on the Cuban model, i.e., one of great violence.

Radio Cadena Nacional, Bogota, reported that the Venezuelan Government had expelled 10 Cubans and ordered the expulsion of 40 others, after substantiating that the Cubans had participated in terroristic and subversive acts in the country, particularly in the recent events which kept Caracas in a state of tension. It was otherwise reported that the Venezuelan Government had strong reason to believe that plans from Cuba had dropped arms destined for anti-Betancourt groups in the mountains of northwestern Venezuela.

In neighboring Colombia there were various rumors that the CASTRO Government was seeking contacts who could facilitate communications between the Cuban Government and revolutionaries within Colombia.

In November 1960, a group of Nicaraguan rebels, concentrated in Costa Rica for the apparent purpose of invading Nicaragua, clashed in combat with forces dispatched by the Costa Rican Government to investigate the situation. Luis SOMOZA de Bayle, Nicaraguan President, declared that there were many Cubans among the rebels, and that the group was well equipped by Fidel CASTRO.

The Frente Unitario Nicaraguense, leading element in the movement, has long had connections with the CASTRO Government. Some members of the insurgent force that started the revolt in Costa Rica received their training in the Sierra Escambray region in Cuba. A group of about 15 Nicaraguan exiles in Havana are being supported by the Cuban Government, which is also aiding their revolutionary activities against the Nicaraguan Government.

The New York Times on 24 November reported that, during three days beginning 29 October, two Super Constellations of Cubana Air Lines and "several" C-54's of the Cuban Aerovias airline took off from Rancho Boyeros International Airport in Havana, loaded with armed militiamen carrying packs, heading westward. According to reports, the planes carried approximately one hundred and fifty militiamen. However, only two planes returned to the airport where they discharged fewer men than had gone aboard.

In October, a Cuban was sent to Paraguay with instructions from the CASTRO Government to Paraguayan revolutionary leaders. He is believed to have remained in Paraguay, where a "Cuban-style revolution" was being prepared.

Elsewhere, pro-Cuban groups were turned loose in demonstrations and acts of violence of the types intended to stimulate their revolutionary enthusiasm and provide training in revolutionary tactics. Members of the Comité Panameño de Defensa de la Revolución Cubana (CPDRC) in Panama agreed to participate in the demonstration of the Sindicato de Agricultores (SA) in La Chorrera on 25 November to protest land holding in the Mitre section of the town. In Buenos Aires, according to a Prensa Latina report, 27 November, a demonstration took place on 26 November against Correo de la Tarde, a newspaper which has been characterized by its attacks on the Cuban revolution. Many youths cheered Cuba and Fidel CASTRO, and threw ink on the front of the newspaper's advertising offices.

Violence perpetrated by pro-CASTRO elements in Uruguay during January 1961, including an attempt to destroy Benito NARDONE's radio station, resulted in the expulsion of the Cuban Ambassador.

#### 6. Cuban Diplomatic Activities

Cuban diplomats and other officials assigned to Cuban Embassies in Latin America continued their intervention in local affairs in the face of growing awareness of their subversive intentions on the part of those Latin American Governments which still maintain relations with Cuba.

In El Salvador, Manuel NAVAS of the firm Manuel Navas y Cia, distributor of Bohemia Libre, was threatened by Ramon AJA Castro, Cuban diplomat assigned as Chief of Archives to the Cuban Embassy in that country, and two unidentified Salvadorans. AJA was formerly an attache of the Cuban Embassy in Lisbon, and is an intelligence agent for the CASTRO Government.

In Ecuador, Mariano RODRIGUEZ Solveira, Cuban Ambassador, has been assured of the cooperation of his friend, Dr. Manuel ARAUJO Hidalgo, then Ecuadorean Minister of Government and ardent supporter of the CASTRO revolution. At RODRIGUEZ' suggestion, in November, ARAUJO arrested four students of the Quito University who were distributing anti-Communist flyers. ARAUJO has authorized RODRIGUEZ to engage freely in Cuban press and radio propaganda in Ecuador.

Radio Circuito RPC in Panama City reported on 7 December that Adolfo MARTI Fuentes, Cuban Consul in Colon, had been notified by the Panamanian Foreign Ministry to leave the country within 24 hours because of his activities during the recent strikes in Puerto Armuelles and Bocas del Toro. MARTI was accused of having entered Panama on a diplomatic passport, passing himself off as a Cuban Consul, and distributing Fidelista and Communist propaganda throughout Panama. After he was discovered, he took asylum in the Cuban Embassy and subsequently left Panama. Radio Circuito RPC commented that there were many more Cubans in Panama who were misusing their diplomatic status to spread a doctrine and policy alien to the Panamanian way of life.

The Cuban Ambassadors in Uruguay and Panama were expelled in January 1961 for participation in a wide variety of subversive activities.

#### 7. Propaganda

Havana-sponsored propaganda media met with some obstacles during this period.

El Mundo, Caracas newspaper, reported that the Venezuelan Minister of Interior had announced that the distributor of the Cuban newspaper Revolucion would be expelled from Venezuela because of his interference in the internal affairs of that country.

The Prensa Latina office in Buenos Aires was closed by Argentine Federal Police in the aftermath of the abortive Rosario uprising on 30 November. A police communique stated that the action against the Cuban news service was a result of Prensa Latina activities directed "against the prestige and peace of the nation. . .the agency serves anti-national interests and affects the fundamental institutions of the Republic."

Cuban Embassy officials in Montevideo were quite upset over the actions of police and customs authorities to prevent the importation of propaganda from Cuba. As a result, most Cuban propaganda is now being distributed from the presses of Talleres 33, the print shop owned by La Marcha.

Cuban Embassies in Latin America have been issued ten short propaganda films in 16 and 35 mm. which it lends out to individuals and organizations.

#### 8. Statement by Former CASTRO Diplomat

Sergio ROJAS Santamarina, former Cuban Ambassador to Great Britain, told La Prensa on 8 September that the situation in Cuba was very grave. He said it did not represent a local phenomenon but a world-wide conspiracy which, unfortunately, was centered in his country. In Buenos Aires after more than two months' asylum in the Argentine Embassy in Havana, ROJAS greeted the Argentine people by warning them of the great lie behind Cuban official propaganda. "When certain groups in Argentina express their sympathy with the Cuban revolution, they may perhaps be unaware that they are unwittingly furthering the objectives of international Communism."